

**Captain Edward Waller, 87th Regiment of Foot,
Royal Irish Fusiliers “The Prince of Wales’ Own Irish”**

Early years

Edward Waller was born in Limerick, Ireland in 1787, the son of Kilner Waller (b.05-May-1762 Limerick d.28-Nov-1792 Ennis) and Deborah Newton (b.1760 Halifax, Nova Scotia d. 04-Feb-1851 Dublin). Kilner Waller’s father was the son of Richard Waller (the elder) of CastleWaller, near Newport, co. Tipperary, and the younger brother of Richard Waller (the younger).

Edward was the youngest of four brothers and one sister.

- Richard Waller (b.1783 Limerick d. < 1825)
- Kilner Waller, Lieut. 57th Regiment of Foot (b.1785 Limerick d.13-Jan-1871 Dublin)
- Robert Waller (b.1786 Limerick d.08-Dec-1874 Dublin)
- Anne Waller (b. 178__? d.18__?) married John James Davis, solicitor in 1808 in Dublin.

John James Davis became the Waller family solicitor for many years after his marriage. He features in the will of Edward Waller dated 24th September 1825, along with Edward’s brothers, Kilner and Robert, to be guardians of his children.

Three years after the death of Edward’s father in 1792, his mother remarried – her spouse being George England, Surgeon of the Royal Navy.

Little is known about the early years of Edward Waller and his siblings until 1806. John James Davis acted in a matter before his Majesty’s High Court of Chancery of Ireland, against Richard Waller, on behalf of the Widow and children of the late Kilner Waller, Esq., who were claimed to be entitled to £2500. The action was against Richard Waller (the younger).



The Crest of the Waller Family
– used by the Wallers of CastleWaller, Co. Tipperary

Military Career

In May 1810, The London Chronicle reported - 87th Regiment of Foot Ensign E.P. White to be Lieutenant, vice Hingstone deceased; **Edward Waller, Gent. to be Ensign**, vice White.

The Dublin Evening Post and Saunders News-Letter editions of 14th July 1810 reported – “Lieutenant General Sir John Doyle's regiment the 87th (or Prince of Wales Irish regiment) has recently enrolled considerable numbers:- the motto, or legend, is national; "Faug an Ballagh". To Sir John Doyle, the praise bestowed on Turenne in relation to his paternal attention to the comforts of the soldier, is every way appropriate; from this cause, as well as the promptitude of their commander to be foremost in

every service of toil and danger, and accompany and share with them the glory of military attainments, the 87th regiment soon fills its companies.”

It is unclear specifically when Ensign Edward Waller embarked for the Peninsula. However, by February 1811 the 2nd battalion 87th Regiment has done a remarkable job to replenish its ranks, and was engaged at Gibraltar, and Cadiz.

Battle of Barrosa - 5 March 1811

On 5th March 1811 the 2nd battalion 87th Regiment was instrumental in the Battle of Barrosa, where Saunders News-Letter edition of 2nd April 1811, reported that “with a single stroke, **Major Gough of the 87th foot**, in a personal contest with an officer of the French 16th regiment cut off his head. During the action at Barrosa Ensign F.E. Kough was killed, and Major Maclaine, Captain Somersall, and Lieutenants J.G. Fensell and J.C. Barton were severely wounded. Major Cough was rewarded with a promotion to Lieut. Colonel.”

Battle of Albuera - 16 May 1811

There are no mentions of the 87th regiment or of Lieutenant Edward Waller in the accounts of the Battle of Albuera.

The small town of Albuera was the setting for one of the Peninsular War's most bloody and desperate battles. A combined Spanish, British and Portuguese force of more than 30,000 men, under the command of Lord Beresford, stubbornly blocked the march of the French Field Marshal Soult, who was trying to reach the fortress of Badajoz, 12 miles north. Beresford, who defended himself with his bare hands against a Polish lancer, was victorious, but at the cost of 6,000 Allied deaths and 7,000 French in just four hours. The battle is best known for the Fusilier Brigade's charge, made famous by Sir William Napier's melodramatic description, and because of the tenacity of the 57th Foot that earned them the 'Die Hards' nickname.¹

Lieutenant Edward Waller's older brother, Lieutenant Kilner Waller served in the 57th Foot.

Battle of Tarifa – 31 December 1812

The London Gazette Extraordinary of 28th January 1812 carried reports of the Battle of Tarifa. It included Colonel J.B. Skerrett's letter of 1st January 1812, in which he wrote “The conduct of all the troops has been admirable, and that of Lieutenant Colonel Gough, and the 2nd battalion of the 87th regiment, exceeds all praise.” From this action the names of officers, killed and wounded included:

2nd Batt., 87th Regiment – Lieutenant M. Carroll and **Ensign Waller**, slightly wounded.

Five rank and file were killed and twenty-one rank and file wounded.

Amongst other newspapers, The Sun (London) edition of Thursday 13th February 1812 Reported “**Ensign WALLER**, of the 87th, who was wounded at Tarifa is nephew of Capt. R. WALLER, of Castlewaller, county Tipperary.”

The Pilot (London) of 31st March 1813 carried the March 30 release from the War Office “87th, Ensign __ Waller, to be lieutenant, without purchase; J. Carrol, gent to be ensign, vice Waller.

During the Peninsular War, "promotion without purchase" was possible but uncommon, usually reserved for extraordinary gallantry in the field or for those who were otherwise unable to afford the high cost of a commission. While the purchase system was the norm for the majority of officer promotions, battlefield actions could result in recommendations for promotion without purchase, particularly for officers who distinguished themselves through acts of bravery.

¹ Dempsey G. *Napoleon's mercenaries: Foreign units in the French army under the Consulate and Empire*. Frontline Books, London (2008).



Castle of Guzman el Bueno, Tarifa. (contemporary)

Battle of Vitoria - 21 June 1813

The 2nd battalion 87th were in Colville's Brigade of the Third Division. Colonel Gough led his 87th Regiment in the capture of Lermenda. There are no mentions of Lieutenant Edward Waller in the accounts of the battle of Vittoria.

The 87th lost 187 of all ranks killed or wounded. An account of the battle in The Kentish Gazette of 6 July 1813 published casualties incurred by the 87th - Ensign Greedy was killed. Wounded officers included Captains Vandeleur, O'Brien and King, severely; Lieutenants Higginson and Mountgaret, severely; Lieutenant Dowling and Ensign Stafford, slightly.

Captains Vandeloer and O'Brien succumbed to their wounds within two months of the battle, and Ensign Stafford died nearly four months after the battle.

After Vitoria, Wellington's army regrouped and pursued the retreating French, reaching the Pyrenees in early July. Unable to get sufficient support from a weakened Napoleon, Marshal Soult led his exhausted and demoralised forces in a withdrawal across the Pyrenees and back into France, fighting battles at the Bidassoa (7 October), Nivelle (10 November) and the Nive (9-13 December).

Battle of Nivelle - 10 November 1813

There are no mentions of Lieutenant Edward Waller in the accounts of the battle of Nivelle.

Saunders News-Letter of Monday, 29 November 1813 provides a detailed account of the action. Casualties of Officers of the 2nd battalion 87th regiment – Ensign Morgan Hilliard, killed; Major Hugh Gough (Lieut. Colonel), Lieutenants John Kelly and Joseph Leslie, Ensign James Kennedy and Henry Baily (sic), severely wounded. Two volunteers, Robert Bagenall and W.H. Bourne were also severely wounded.

Battle of the Nive - 9-13 December 1813

There are no mentions of Lieutenant Edward Waller in the accounts of the battle of Nive, near Bayonne.

The Sussex Advertiser of 3 January 1814 published the names of the Officers killed, wounded and missing, of the Army under the command of the Field Marshal the Marquess of Wellington. The 2nd

Battalion, 84th (York and Lancaster) Regiment of Foot suffered heavy casualties. There were no reports of losses for the 2nd battalion 87th regiment.

Family starts – 26th February 1814

To Anna Maria Waller, the wife of Lieutenant Edward Waller, 87th Regiment, a son (Robert), born at Bilbao, Spain.

Battle of Orthez - 2 February 1814

There are no mentions of Lieutenant Edward Waller in the accounts of the battle of Orthez.

The Army under the command of the Field Marshal the Marquess of Wellington defeated Marshal Soult's army. The battle honour 'Orthez' was awarded to the 87th regiment.

Following the defeat of his Army of the Pyrenees at the Battles of Orthez on 2nd February 1814 and at Tarbes on 20th March 1814, Marshal Soult retreated in a north-easterly direction on the city of Toulouse.

Battle of Toulouse - 10 April 1814

The force available to Wellington in the advance on Toulouse comprised 50,000 men, outnumbering Soult's French Army of the Peninsular comprising 25,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry. The 2nd battalion 87th regiment served in the Third Division (Picton), in Keane's Brigade.

At nightfall on 11th April 1814, Soult's army marched out of Toulouse, heading south-east towards Carcassonne, where Soult planned to join the army of Marshal Suchet. Toulouse was captured. On 12th April 1814, while both sides moved towards Carcassonne, news arrived from Paris of the abdication of the Emperor Napoleon and the end of the war. Wellington and Soult signed an armistice, and the fighting came to an end on 18 April. The battle honour 'Toulouse' was awarded to the 87th regiment.

The role of Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton's third division was carried in Saunders' News-Letter of 30th April, 1814, as described in LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY dated Downing-street, April 26, 1814 – "The 3rd and light divisions under the command of Lieut. Gen. Sir T. Picton and Major-General Charles, Baron Alten, and the brigade of German cavalry, were to observe the enemy on the lower part of the canal, and to draw their attention to that quarter by threatening the tete-de-pont, while Lieutenant General Sir Rowland Hill was to do the same on the suburb to the left of the Garonne."

Also published were the names of the Officers killed, wounded and missing – from the 2nd battalion 87th regiment Captain Henry Bright (Major.) was killed, and Lieut. W.W. Lamphier was wounded and Ensign A.P. Royse, was slightly wounded.

There are no mentions of Lieutenant Edward Waller in the accounts of the battle of Toulouse.

Return to England

The London Morning Post on 31st August, 1814 reported that the *Nimble* cutter, with the *Atlas* and *Mars* transport, having on board the 87th regiment, were bound for Portsmouth.

The London Evening Star on Saturday 26th November, 1814 reported that 2nd Battalion of the 87th Regiment has received the route from Plymouth to replace the 4th Garrison battalion at Guernsey.

The London Morning Post on 11th March, 1815 reported that "the gallant 2nd Battalion of the 87th regiment, about 400 strong, are at present quartered in Guernsey, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Gough."

Saunders' News-Letter (Dublin) of 22nd August, 1815 carried the following account of a review of the 2nd battalion 87th regiment:

"The 21st of June being the Anniversary of the memorable battle of Vittoria, the 2nd battalion of the 87th (or Prince of Wales's own Irish) regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Gough, were reviewed by the Lieutenant Governor of Guernsey, his Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir John Doyle, Bart. and K.G.C.B. who, in a very eloquent address, expressed his fullest approbation of their appearance and movements. Immediately after the review, the officers met at their mess room, when a

handsome cup (which had been unanimously voted) was presented by Major Davenport, with a short address, in nearly the following terms, to Lieutenant-Colonel Gough:

"In the name of the officers of the 2nd Battalion, I beg leave to present you with this Vase, as small testimony of the high opinion they entertain of your conduct during the arduous campaign, and in the various actions they had the honour of serving under you in the Peninsula, and of your uniform attention to the interests of every individual of the corps."

To which the Lieutenant-Colonel made the following reply:

"I feel greatly at a loss for adequate language to convey to you the sense I entertain of this flattering proof of your regard, which I accept with heartfelt pleasure, as a lasting memento of the affection of a corps of officers, whose good opinion I value so highly.

"This mark of your attachment is doubly endeared to me from the manner it was proposed to have had it presented, and from the flattering inscription you have placed on it, which, while it far exceeds my endeavours, only speaks facts as to my anxious wishes to do justice to the merits of my gallant comrades.

"If, throughout six campaigns, and so many general actions, the second battalion of the Prince's Own Irish have merited the favourable opinion of the illustrious Patron of the Corps, or Country, or the General Officers under whom it has been our good fortune to have served, it is principally attributed to the uniform, zealous, and cordial support I have received from my officers.

"This mark of your affection I will hand down to my children as proof of my exertions in the cause of my country, and if they inherit one spark of my feelings, they will estimate its value as I do, and will preserve it with heartfelt pride and honest exultation."

In the evening, Sir John Doyle, with his Staff, and the Ladies of the 87th regiment, dined with the officers."

Lieutenant Edward Waller and his wife, Anna Maria, would have attended this dinner.

The Limerick Gazette of 26th April 1816 carried a report from Whitehall issued on April 9th, 1816:

"His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, acting in the name and on behalf of his Majesty, was pleased, on the 4th day of December last, to confer the Honor of Knighthood upon **Hugh Gough, Esq. Lieutenant-Colonel of his Majesty's 87th (or Prince of Wales own Irish) regiment of Foot**, Companion of the Most Honourable Military Order of Bath, and Knight of the Royal and Distinguished Spanish Order of Charles the Third:-

And being desirous of conferring upon the said Sir Hugh Gough such a further work of his Majesty's Royal favour as may, in an especial manner, evince the sense of his Royal Highness entertains of the highly distinguished services of that Officer, throughout the splendid achievements of his Majesty's Armies in the Peninsula and more particularly the great ability and signal valour displayed by him in command of his Majesty's 87th regiment of Foot, at the memorable battle of Talavera de la Reyna; at the siege of Cadiz; at the brilliant Action fought on the Heights of Barrosa (wherein the Eagle of the 8th of the French regiment was captured in a charge by his Majesty's said 87th regiment.)

Also at the siege of Tarifa (where, having the command of the East Wall of the Fortress, in which the enemy had made a practicable breach, he, with eight companies of the said regiment, amounting to five hundred men repulsed eighteen hundred picked troops, by which the breach was assaulted); and his conspicuous conduct at the battles of Vitoria, the Pyrenees, and the Nivelle; his Royal Highness hath been pleased to grant unto the said Sir Hugh Gough, his Majesty's Royal license and authority that, as a lasting memorial of his faithful and zealous exertions in his Majesty's Service, he and his descendants may bear the following honorable augmentation to the arms of his family, viz."

As we will see this likely made a strong impression on Lieutenant Edward Waller, perhaps almost as much as the birth of his second son.

Family grows – 26th April 1816

To Anna Maria Waller, the wife of Lieutenant Edward Waller, 87th Regiment, a son (Kilner), born at Gosport, Hampshire.

On the move in England – Gosport to Colchester

In the week of Monday 6th September, 1816 the London papers and the Dublin papers report the 2nd battalion 87th Regiment marching from Gosport. On Friday September 20th, The Morning Post (London) reported:

“Wednesday, the 2nd battalion of the 87th Regiment, under the command of Sir Hugh Gough, on their route to Colchester, were formed in front of Knightsbridge barracks, to receive their venerated founder General Sir John Doyle, who, though indisposed, would not lose the opportunity of seeing a battalion in whose glorious exploits he has so often sympathized. The appearance and discipline of the regiment justified the character it has supported in the hard-fought battles of the last ten years.”

On Thursday September 26th, the Dublin Evening Post reported - “The 87th Regiment has marched from Gosport; the 28th is the only Regiment that will remain there.”

Distribution of Prize Money paid to the British Army for Campaigning in Spain and France from 1809-1814

Military researcher, T.H. McGuffie wrote in 1946 that “The Prince Regent by Warrant approved prize-money for the Peninsula in six payments. The first payment for "the British Army which broke up from Coimbra in the Kingdom of Portugal on the 2nd day of May, 1809, and afterwards passed the Douro; to be distributed amongst the Commander, Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates who composed and were present with the Army during the said operation." The second covered from Massena's retreat from Santarem to Fuentes and Albuera. The third was for the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos. The fourth from May to October 1812; the fifth operations from May to 31 Dec 1813; and the sixth from the beginning of 1814 to the Battle of Toulouse.

The Prize money was divided into six classes: General Officers; Field Officers (including captains holding superior brevet rank); Captains; Subalterns; Sergeants; and 'Corporals, Drummers, and Rank and File'. ”²

As such, Edward Waller as a serving ensign and then lieutenant in the 2nd battalion 87th Regiment from May 1810 would have been entitled to claims for operations in which the 2nd battalion 87th Regiment participated – most likely the fourth, fifth and sixth operations.

The Dublin Evening Post of 20th June, 1816 carried the following extract from the May 28th, 1816 edition of the London Gazette –

“PRIZE MONEY

Grant to the Army which served under the command of Field Marshal his Grace the Duke of Wellington, in the Kingdoms of Portugal, Spain and France, from the 2d May, 1809 to the 10th of April, 1814.

Notice is hereby given, for the purpose of preventing trouble and expense to all parties interested in this grant, that, pursuant to the provisions of the Act of Parliament, the distribution of money, which commenced on the 1st of February last, will close on the 31st instant; after which date no further payments can be made by the Distributing Agent, as all the shares which may then remain in his hands unclaimed, must (according to the Act of Parliament) be paid over to Chelsea Hospital, where all future payments will be made by the Deputy Treasurer of that Establishment; but it is thought right to apprise all persons concerned, that from the extraordinary and unprecedented extent and complications of the distributions, a period of at least two months, from the 31st instant, must necessarily elapse before the books, &c, can be made up and arranged, so as to enable the said Deputy Treasurer to answer letters, or to commence paying any part of the unclaimed shares; and the persons they belong to, and the legal representatives of those that are deceased, have a right to receive at any time, not exceeding six years, from the date of their being paid over to Chelsea.

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL. Suffolk-street, 28th May, 1816,

² T. H. McGuffie, Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research, vol 24 1946 p 143.

London Gazette, May 18, 1816.”

Further information was provided through the remainder of 1816, such as seen in the Military Register (London) of Wednesday 27th November 1816:

“Unclaimed Peninsula Prize Money

Claimants may receive it from Col. Spicer, at the Deputy Treasurer’s Office, Chelsea Hospital, on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays.

To commence 24th March

87th, 2nd.”

Echoing the information published in the Military Register (London), the Dublin Evening Post of Saturday 14th December, 1816 carried the following advertisement:

“PENINSULA PRIZE MONEY

Notice IS HEREBY GIVEN BY DIRECTION OF THE Deputy Treasurer of Chelsea-Hospital, that the unclaimed Shares of Prize Money due to the Army who served in the Peninsula and in France, under the command of his Grace the Duke of Wellington, from the year 1809 to 1814, will commence paying at Chelsea on the following days, viz:

First to the 30th Regiment of Foot, including the General Staff, Dragoons, Wagon Train, and Artillery, on the 30th of December, 1816.

From the 30th to the 82^d Foot, on the 13th of February, 1817.

From the 82^d to the 97th Foot, including the German Legion, on the 24th of March, 1817.

CHARTRES and BOURNE, Army Prize Agents

Gloucester-street, Dublin

9th December, 1816.* All Claims that have been heretofore sent in to Messrs Chartres and Bourne will be paid or remitted to the Claimants as soon as possible after the above dates. The relatives of Officers and Privates deceased, who have not yet sent in their Claims, should state particularly the date of their joining the Duke’s Army, and the period of their decease, if possible.

Letters (post free), will be answered in due course of business.”

The distribution of prize money was strictly hierarchical, with shares determined by rank and available funds. As a Lieutenant Edward Waller would have received around £20 (roughly one month’s pay) for the fourth and fifth operations, and possibly another £20 for the sixth operations in the Southern France campaign. Prize money was awarded based on the value of captured enemy property, baggage, supplies, and fortifications.

The 2nd Battalion 87th Regiment Disbands at Colchester in January 1817

The Saturday 25th January 1817 edition of Saunders’ News-Letter (Dublin) reported:

“Wednesday last, an order was received by Col. Sir Hugh Gough, at Colchester, to disembody his regiment, the 2nd battalion 87th, in consequence of which, 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 2 Majors, 9 Captains, 16 Lieutenants, 8 Ensigns, 1 Quarter-Master, 1 Surgeon, 1 Assistant-Surgeon, and 1 Paymaster, were placed on half-pay, from 25th December – 300 privates are to join the 1st battalion in India forthwith; the remainder, 250, are to remain at Colchester as a depot.”

Edward Waller was one of 16 Lieutenants to join the 1st battalion.

The movement of the 2nd Battalion 87th Regiment was amplified in The Star (London) on Thursday 13th February 1817:

“THE ARMY

Saturday a detachment, consisting of sixty non-commissioned officers and privates, invalided from the 2nd Battalion of the 87TH (or Prince of Wales’s) Irish regiment, lately disbanded at Colchester, arrived at the Invalid Depot, Fort Pitt, Chatham, to remain till ordered to Chelsea, to pass the Board for pensions.”

The Belfast Commercial Chronicle of Monday 24th February 1817 was more expansive on the travels of those members of the 87th Regiment bound for the East Indies:

“THE ARMY

A detachment of about 220 fine young men, belonging to the **87th Regiment of Foot**, arrived at Tilbury Fort on Friday, and embarked on Saturday morning, to join their Regiment in the East Indies. Saturday, a detachment, consisting of 60 non-commissioned officers and privates invalided from the 2nd battalion of the **87th (or Prince of Wales's) Irish Regiment**, lately disbanded at the Invalid Depot, Fort Pitt, Chatham, to remain till ordered to Chelsea, to pass the Board for pensions.”

Tilbury Fort, also known historically as the Thernitige Bulwark and the West Tilbury Blockhouse, was an artillery fort on the north bank of the River Thames in England.

The Caledonia Mercury (Edinburgh) of Thursday 27th February 1817 confirmed their departure on Saturday 22nd February 1817 -

“LONDON MONDAY - February 24

Saturday last detachments of the 17th and 87th regiments embarked at Gravesend for India.

Further commentary of the disbanding of regiments appeared in the Commercial Chronicle (London) edition of Tuesday, 11th March 1817-

“THE ARMY .- We understand the reduction of the entire 2d Battalions of the British Army will immediately be proceeded on; they are thirteen in number, and thus stationed: ...The 2nd Battalions of the 43rd and 87th Regiments have been disbanded in the course of the last month, in England, After this reduction, there will only be five regiments in the British service, with additional battalions, viz. 1st (Royals), the 14th, 27th, 60th and Rifle Brigade.”

The outposts of the British Empire in India in this period experienced significant disease. The Sun (London) edition of Tuesday 18th March 1817 reported -

“EAST INDIA

The Calcutta Papers to the 10th October inclusive, contain the following:-

September 28.- Considerable sickness has prevailed among the troops at Cawnpore: the 66th and 87th regiments have suffered' 200 of the former and a large number of the latter, are in the hospital. Captain Jones and Lieut. Gun, of the 66th are dead.”

The East Indies, The Presidency of Bengal, Calcutta and Fort William

The voyage to West Bengal for Lieutenant Edward Waller, his wife Anna Maria, and two young sons, Robert (3 yrs) and Kilner (10 mth) would have taken up to 5 months, via the Cape of Good Hope.

Family grows - 31st January 1818

To Anna Maria Waller, the wife of Lieutenant Edward Waller, 87th Regiment, a daughter (Isabella), born at Cawnpore (now Kanpur), Presidency of Bengal (now Uttar Pradesh), India³.

The London Morning Post edition of 30th July 1818 reported “The 87th Regiment have arrived from Colchester at Sheerness, where they are to be stationed until further orders.”

Sheerness is on the Isle of Sheppey, at the mouth of the Thames estuary. It appears that the 87th Regiment embarked in parts for West Bengal, and these may have been re-enforcements.

The Military Register (London) of 18th February 1818 reported -

“87th, Lieut. J. Fenton, captain of company, without purchase, v. Browne, promoted, April 22; Ensign J.G. Baylee, Lieut., without purchase, v. Fenton, March 20.”

The Military Register (London) of 25th February 1818 reported -

“Our summary account of the recent embarkations for India, which we have not deemed of that importance to note specifically, states the *Castle Huntley* to have on board, small parties of officers and men (principally the former) as reinforcements for the 17th, 24th, 59th, 67th and 87th regiments. This ship sailed in company with the *Dunira*.”

The London Chronicle of 1st January 1819, reported that during 1818 there was “the appearance of the Cholera Morbus in the army, a disease which has visited nearly the whole of India lately like a

³ Confirmed in W023 – Royal Hospital Chelsea: Admission Books, Registers, and Papers 1702-1876

pestilence, and committed most dreadful ravages. On the 14th of November, it began to spread a most horrific colouring over the sunshine of our happiness, both European and Native Corps losing from six to eight men a day by this shocking plague. The disease frequently terminated by death in two hours. Nothing could exceed the gloom which pervaded every countenance in the army.”

Hence the constant requirement for reinforcements.

A return of the effective strength of officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, serving in the East Indies for the British army on 25th January 1819 listed -

Stations	Officers	Serjeants	Drummers	Farriers	Rank & File	Total	Troop Horses
Cavalry							
East Indies	250	288	69	54	3,311	3,972	3178
Infantry							
East Indies	868	997	421	-	16,863	19,149	-

Family grows - 28th Feb 1820

On this 28th day of February 1820 **John Gough, son of Edward Waller**, Lieut. H.M. 87th Rgt and Anna Maria his wife, born 3rd January 1820.⁴

There are few reports of the activities of the 87th Regiment in the period from 1820 to 1823. From the reports of the births, deaths and marriages it appears the 87th Regiment was based at Cawnpore (now Kanpur) in this period.

The Historical Record of The Eighty-seventh Regiment or The Royal Irish Fusiliers⁵ (Historical Record) records that the regiment marched from Cawnpore to Fort William in 1820, and was stationed there when the East India Company's Dispensary at Calcutta caught fire in 1821.

The Supplement to the Government Gazette (Madras) of Thursday, 24th January 1822 published the following letter about the dispensary fire –

“To Lieut. Col. F.M. Miller, C.B.

Comg. His Majesty's 87th Regt. Mil. Dept. Fort William.

Sir,

The Most Noble the Governor General in Council, being desirous to evince the sense which Government entertain of the laudable exertions of those Officers of His Majesty's 87th Regiment, who were present on the occasion of the fire at the Honourable Company's Dispensary, has commanded me to transmit to you the accompanying Silver Cups, with a request that you will, on the part of His Lordship in Council present one to each of the several Officers whose names are inserted in the margin, * who are understood to have accompanied the troops on the night of 6th September last.

I am Sir, Your most obedient humble servant

(Signed) W. Casement, *Lieut. Col., Sec. to Govt. Mil. Dept.*

Council Chamber, 18th December, 1821}

(A true Copy)

JAS. BOWES, *Lieut., and Adj. 87th Regt.*

Fort William 30th December 1821.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 18th instant with twelve Silver Cups, for Officers of H.M. 87th Regiment, which I have had the pleasure of presenting to the Gentlemen named therein, and beg leave to enclose a letter from them, which I request you will be pleased to lay before the Most Noble the Governor General in Council.

⁴ Baptismal record Confirmed in W023 – Royal Hospital Chelsea: Admission Books, Registers, and Papers 1702-1876

⁵ Cannon R. Historical Record of The Eighty-seventh Regiment or The Royal Irish Fusiliers, London, 1853.

I have the honor to be Sir, Your most obedient humble servant

(Signed) F.M. Miller, *Lieut. Col.*

To Lieut. Col. Casement, C.B.

Sec to Govt. Mil. Dept.

Fort William 30th December 1821.

Sir,

We the undersigned Officers under your command have the honor to request you will be pleased to express our sincere thanks to the Most Noble the Governor General in Council for the Cups which have been presented to us individually on the part of the Government.

We cannot omit to observe with the highest respect, the deep sense we feel that our exertions should have appeared to merit so handsome an acknowledgement.

We have the honor to be Sir, Your most obedient humble servants

(Signed) G.R. Bell, Captain – G.W. Cavenagh, Captain – James Bowes, Lieutenant and Adjutant – R. Irvine, Lieutenant – J.G. Baylee, Lieutenant – H.G. Baylee, Lieutenant – Alexander Irwin, Lieutenant – G. Tolfrey, Lieutenant – Edward Cox, Lieutenant – J. Shipp, Lieutenant – H. Speight, Lieutenant – L.W. Halstead, Ens. Of the 87th Regiment.

To. Lieut. Col. Miller, C.B., *Comg. H.M. 87th Regiment.*”

The Historical Record states that in July 1822 the regiment once again embarked on boats for the upper provinces via Dinapore and on November 1 the regiment marched to Ghazepore.

In 1823 the regiment was stationed at Ghazepore, and on May 17 Lieut.-Colonel Francis M. Miller, C.B., died, after having served more than thirty-four years, during which he had commanded the 87th regiment at different periods for sixteen years. The Caledonian Mercury edition of 19 January 1824 reported -

“THE ARMY

Detachments belonging to the 24th (Warwickshire), the 44th (East Essex), and the 87th, (The Prince of Wales's own Irish) regiments of foot, have arrived on board the *Circassian*, free trader, from Calcutta, and disembarked the 12th inst. at Chatham.

Detachments belonging to the 13th (1st Somerset) light infantry, the 14th (Buckingham), the 38th (1st Staffordshire), the 44th (East Essex), the 59th (2d Nottingham), and the 87th regiments of infantry, have been ordered to embark forthwith on board the *Duchess of Athol*, East Indiamen, for Bengal.”

On June 9th, 1824 the 87th regiment left Ghazepore in boats, and reached Berhampore twenty days later.

Berhampore is about 640 kms (400 miles) from Ghazepore (Ghazipur), which in 1824 would have taken at least four weeks march, possibly longer with families, and camp followers in tow.

Undertaking this in the heat of an Indian summer and monsoon season would have been challenging.

The removal to Berhampore was not reported in England until 3rd December, 1824, in the London Morning Post -

“THE ARMY

CALCUTTA, JUNE 30.- His Majesty's 87th Regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Shawe, arrived at Berhampore, on the 26th instant, and disembarked and occupied the cantonments at that station.”

It was in Berhampore that on Monday, 1st Nov 1824 Anna Maria Wife of Lieut. Waller H.M. 87th Regt aged 30 years was buried at Berhampore, with H.R. Shepherd, the Officiating Chaplain.⁶

⁶ British India Office Ecclesiastical Returns - Deaths & Burials

Ten weeks after the death of Anna Maria Waller, on 14th January 1825 the regiment proceeded to Fort William, Calcutta arriving on 29th January. It is believed that the children of Lieut. Edward Waller and Anna Maria Waller – Robert Waller just shy of his 11th birthday, Kilner Waller 8 years 9 months, Isabella Waller just shy of her 7th birthday, and John Gough Waller having just turned 5 years old - took this journey,

Lieut.-Colonel Matthew Shawe, C.B. became the new commanding officer at Fort William.

The Bengal Directory and General register for 1825 published the list of officers and staff based at Fort William in Calcutta.

Names	Date Achieved Regimental Rank	Date Achieved Army Rank	Remarks
<i>Colonel</i> Sir J. Doyle, Bt G.C.B - K.G	May 8, 1796	Aug 12, 1819	Europe, Gov. Charlemont.
<i>Lieutenant Colonels</i> Matthew Shawe, C.B. Henry R. Browne	April 30, 1818 May 18, 1823	April 27, 1812	Commanding troops in Fort William.
<i>Majors</i> Thos. Hunter Blair, C.B. H.C. Streatfield	April 1, 1819 May 18, 1823	June 18, 1815 August 12, 1819	A.D.C & M.S.o L.G. Europe
<i>Captains</i> W.S. Gully Charles L. Bell Geo. Rodney Bell Edward Goate John Fenton P.B. Husband James Hutchinson James Carroll William Mountgarrett John Sealy Day J.T. Moore	March 9, 1809 March 16, 1809 December 28, 1809 February 18, 1812 April 22, 1817 July 2, 1818 May 25, 1819 October 19, 1820 May 19, 1822 August 18, 1824	June 27, 1811 June 15, 1813	Europe Regt. Depot Europe
<i>Lieutenants</i> Edward Waller James Bowes Patrick Masterson James Kennelly J.G. Baylee H. Gough Baylee Alexander Irwin George Toffrey	March 5, 1813 April 1, 1813 November 17, 1813 November 18, 1813 April 22, 1817 June 4, 1817 June 5, 1817 September 11, 1817	January 1, 1824 June 9, 1814 November 24, 1814 December 19, 181_	Adjutant Europe Europe Europe

H.W. Desbarres	April 12, 1818	December 8, 181__	Europe
Edw. C. Archer	July 9, 1818	May 30, 18__	Europe til 5 Jan 1826
John Hassard	August 10, 1818		
Ter. O'Brien	January 7, 1819	January 19, 181__	_eemitin, Ipswich
Edmund Cox	December 21, 1819	October 1, 1816	Leave til 15 July
William Bateman	December 26, 1819		
John Shipp	October 20, 1820		Leave til placed on ½ pay
George Mainwaring	October 10, 1821	September 7, 1817	
Henry Speight	October 11, 2021		Europe
L.W. Halstead	Maty 18, 1823		
W. Hill	October 2, 1823	October 24, 182__	
F.O. Flaherty	November 20, 1823	September 2, 1819	
James Sargent	December 4, 1823	March 31, 182__	Europe
M.C. Halcott	March 25, 2024	April 10, 1823	
J.E. Heard	March 26, 1824	August 11, 1814	Regimental Depot
R.R. Harris	August 18, 1824		
C.M. Christian	September 23, 2024		
W.L. Stafford	February 23, 1825		
Robert Mends	April 14, 1825		Europe
<i>Ensigns</i>			
D.A. Courtayne	April 13, 1822		
William Smith	September 12, 1822		
Joseph Thomas	November 7, 1822	February 15, 1816	
E. DeL'Etang	May 18, 1823		Leave til 14 Oct
N.M. Doyle	January 15, 1824		Regimental Depot
R. Loveday	August 18, 1824		
T. Creagh	February 23, 1825		
<i>Staff</i>			
John Sherlock	September 29, 1808		Paymaster
Lames Bowes, Lieut.	October 19, 1820		Adjutant
Stephen Carr	February 14, 1824		Quarter-master
Alexander Leslie	October 7, 1813		Surgeon
W. Browne	November 20, 182__		Assistant Surgeon
W.P. Birmingham	September 23, 1822		Assistant Surgeon

With four children aged between 5 years and 11 years the recently widowed Lieut. Edward Waller was in need of help to care for these children.

The Quarterly Oriental Magazine, January to June 1825 reported his marriage at the cathedral in Fort William, on Tuesday 12th March to Miss Sarah Bauckingham.

“MARRIAGES

At Calcutta, on Tuesday, the 12th March, Edward Waller, Esq. of His Majesty’s 87th Regiment, to Miss Sarah Buckingham.”

The month of June 1815 proved to be somewhat turbulent for the 87th Regiment. On 6th June the 87th Regiment’s beloved and lamented commanding officer, Lieut.-Colonel Henry Browne was buried. Then on 30th June a duel was fought between the 87th Regiment’s Captains Kennelly and B____s, at Fort William. Captain K’s fire took effect, and Captain B. was wounded in the head, but not dangerously. The dispute originated about some regimental arrangements.⁷

The 87th Regiment saw action in the first Burmese War from October 1825 returning to Calcutta in November 1826. Reports were published in the Irish and English press, usually 5-6 months after the actions and events. These were often out of chronological sequence.

For example, the Limerick Chronicle edition of Wednesday 19th April, 1826 published the following: “The British Regiments that suffered in the late affair with the Burmese are the 16th Lancers, 1st Royals, 38th, 41st, 47th, 67th and 87th.

We are concerned to find reported amongst the kill, the name of **Lieutenant John Gough Baylee**, son of Mrs Baylee, of Cecil street, in this city – **he was the senior Lieutenant of the 87th Regiment**, and his death is a source of deep affliction to his widowed parent, and his numerous friends in this quarter.”

It is somewhat debatable that John Gough Baylee was the senior lieutenant in the 87th Regiment, as Edward Waller had been a lieutenant without purchase since 1813. John Gough Baylee became lieutenant in March 1817. However, as captured earlier in this document Edward and Anna Maria Waller’s third son was named “John Gough Waller”, paying homage to Sir Hugh Gough and possibly to John Gough Baylee.

Two weeks later The Limerick Chronicle, Wednesday 3rd May 1826 edition contained detailed extracts from the CALCUTTA GOVERNMENT GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY:

“Political Department, December 30, 1825.

To George Swinton, Esq. Secretary to Government, Secret and Political department, &c. Fort William Sir, - The Enemy, in closing in upon our front, has been unremitting in his endeavours to intercept our communication with Rangoon. Large bodies of troops for this service have lately passed our flanks on both sides of the Irrawaddy, and the state of that river, covered, as it has lately been, with large and valuable convoys of stores and treasure, has necessarily caused me much anxiety, and retarded my moving forward.

...Two divisions of his Majesty’s 87th Regiment, with the treasure-boats, have now arrived, and I purpose marching out to attack the enemy tomorrow, the consequence of which will, I trust, be felt by all the dependent corps which have so long annoyed us.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. CAMPBELL, Major-General.

Headquarters, Prome, November 30, 1825.

... To the Brigadier’s left I directed six companies of his Majesty’s 87th Regiment, under Major Gully, to advance and drive in the enemy’s post to the bottom of the ridge.

... and the six companies of his Majesty’s 87th Regiment advanced through the jungle to the right, and rove everything before them on that side. Nothing could surpass the steadiness and resolute courage displayed in this attack. Scarcely a shot was fired in return to the enemy’s continued volleys.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) A. CAMPBELL, Major-General.

Headquarters, Camp on the Heights of Napadoe, Dec 4, 1825.

⁷ A duel was fought in Calcutta. Caledonian Mercury 26 November 1825

Return of Killed, Wounded and Missing, in a Detachment under the command of Major Gully, of his Majesty's 87th Regiment, in action with the enemy near Theacombine, on the 25th Nove., 1825:

His Majesty's 87th Regiment – Killed, 2 rank and file.- Wounded , 1 Captain

Name of Officer Wounded – Captain James Bowes, slightly.

(Signed) F.S. TIDY, Lieut-Col. DAG.

General Return of Killed, Wounded and Missing of the Army under the command of Major General Sir A. Campbell, KCB in action with the enemy on 2nd December, 1825 –

His Majesty's– Killed – 2 rank and file. Wounded – 1 major, 1 lieutenant, 2 serjeants, and 21 rank and file. Missing – 1 rank and file.

Names of the Officers Wounded – Major W.S. Gully, of his Majesty's, slightly; Lieutenant J.G. Baylee, of his Majesty's, dangerously, since dead.

(Signed) F.S. TIDY, Lieut-Col. DAG.”

The Dublin Morning Register of Saturday 29th April 1826 reported on the War in India, or more specifically, the campaign in Burma: -“Dispatches from Sir Archibald Campbell, which add little to our previous knowledge of the affairs to which they relate, have been officially published. The Burmese, as usual, came forward with great boldness, formed stockades in every direction, annoyed our troops for some time, and on the first attacks were driven from their positions, left many killed, and all the heavy artillery behind. But is still does not appear whether the army is about speedily to advance towards Ammerapoor. No prisoners seem to have been taken, and nothing can have been done towards the destruction of the enemies, except the loss of the artillery, of which they do not seem to know how to make use to any purpose. The lapse of time (and the money which is slipping away with it) is the most formidable feature of the Burmese war. It is now nearly two years sine Sir A. Campbell landed at Rangoon, and though we hope that ere this he is in the enemy's capital, he was not at the date of his dispatches halfway to it. One unpleasant consideration is forced upon us by reading the account of these actions – that if the Burmese persevere in the warfare till our troops get into parts of their country where our flotilla can be of no avail in assisting them and in preserving their communications, the difficulties they have now to struggle with, from the annoying nature of the warfare, will be much increased.

In the attack upon Bhurtpore, the latest intelligence anticipates speedy success, which is the more to be desired as it may dispel any unpleasant effect produced throughout India by the protraction of the Burmese war.

Name of the Officer Killed – Lieutenant H.C.K. Proctor, his Majesty's 38th regiment.

Names of the Officers Wounded – Lieutenant Abbott, Bengal Engineers, slightly; Lieutenant Underwood, Madra Engineers, severely, not dangerously; Captain and Brevet Major Backhouse and Lieutenant J. Gordon, of his Majesty's 47th Regiment, severely, not dangerously; Major W.S. Gully, of his Majesty's 87th Regiment, slightly; Lieutenant J.S. Baylee, of his Majesty's 87th Regiment, dangerously, since dead.”

The Dublin Evening Mail of 29th May 1826 carried accounts of actions in Burma from December 1825

“ARMY IN THE BURMESE EMPIRE (OFFICAL)

The following are extracts from the General Orders by Sir Archibald Campbell, dated Camp, 8th December, 1825:

ORDER OF MARCH

Advance Guard from the 13th Light Infantry,- Pioneers.- Two field pieces from the Horse Artillery.- 13th Light Infantry, his Majesty's 38th Regiment, Body Guard, Horse Artillery, his Majesty's 87th Regiment, 26th Regiment Madras Native Infantry, Foot Artillery, his Majesty's 47th Regiment, 38th regiment Madras Native Infantry.

When a march by the left in front is ordered, his Majesty's 47th Regiment will lead, having the pioneers and two field pieces placed, as directed for the march, right in front.

Brigadier Shaw will be pleased to take upon himself the general superintendence of the infantry part of the division.

Captain Piper, Deputy-Assistant-Adjutant-General to the Bengal Division, will attach himself to Brigadier Shawe.

CAMP, MEEADAY, DECEMBER 21, 1825.- The Bengal Division has of late been divided into two columns. The first under Sr A. Campbell in person, and consisting of the Body Guard, Horse Artillery, Rocket Troop, Pioneers, his Majesty's 13th and 38th Regiments, and 26th Madras Native Infantry. The second, under Brigadier Shawe, C.B., and composed of the Foot Artillery, his Majesty's 47th and 87th Regiments, and 38th Madras Native Infantry."

The 87th Regiment formed part of an army which advanced up the River Irrawaddy to the Kingdom of Ava.

The Historical Record summarised the actions in the First Anglo-Burmese War during October, November and December 1825 thus - "on the 5th of October the regiment embarked for Ava, to reinforce the army in that country, in four divisions, which landed at Rangoon between the 3rd and 10th of November, and immediately proceeded in boats towards Prome, the head-quarters of the army. During the passage, Major William Slade Gully's division was attacked from the bank of the river, on the 25th of November, by a strong party of Burmese, which was immediately repulsed on the troops being landed. Lieutenant and Adjutant James Bowes, in command of the advanced guard, was wounded, and two privates killed.

Six companies of the regiment, with Major Gully, Captains Charles Lucas and George Rodney Bell, and John Day; Lieutenants John Baylee, William Bateman, Robert Joseph Kerr, William Lenox Stafford, with Assistant Surgeons William Brown, M.D., and William Peter Birmingham, reached Prome in time to share in the operations of the 1st and 2nd of December, which terminated in the entire discomfiture of the enemy. On this occasion the regiment maintained its unvarying reputation for cool and distinguished gallantry: Lieutenant Baylee and two men were killed; Major Gully and twenty-one men were wounded."

On 15th July 1826 Weekly Freeman's Journal of Dublin commented "it is said that the 87th and 13th, King's. are to advance towards Ummerapoora, taking a route into the interior, on the east bank of the Irrawaddy, and rejoining Sir Archibald Campbell higher up the stream. It is hoped that in this line of march, they will be able to pick up cattle, and other supplies for the Army." The Historical Record confirmed that "under Brigadier Shawe, made a flank movement from the river Irrawaddy, and entered a well-cultivated country abounding in cattle, eight hundred head of which were secured, and they proved a most seasonable supply to the army."

Published in The Limerick Chronicle of 4th January, 1826 and extracted from The London Gazette of 20th December 1825, the War-Office confirmed promotions in the 87th Regiment – "87th – Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Thos. Hunter Blair to be Lieutenant-Colonel, vice Browne, deceased. Captain William Slade Gully to be major, vice Blair. Lieutenant Edward Waller to be Captain, vice Gully. Ensign Joseph Thomas to be Lieutenant, vice Waller. J. Storey, Gent. to be Ensign, vice Thomas."

In January 1826 Lieut.-Colonel Hunter Blair joined the regiment, and was appointed a Brigadier, the Eighty-seventh being in his brigade, concurrent with Lieut. Edward Waller being appointed Captain.

Family grows - 5th Mar 1826

On this 5th day of March 1826 **Harriet Sherlock, daughter of Edward Waller**, Capt. H.M. 87th Rgt and Sarah his wife, born 5th March 1826, at Fort William.⁸

The Bombay Gazette of June 28th, 1826 in its Nautical Chronicle and Naval Report for Calcutta, reported recent ship arrivals, the following of which included passengers from the 87th Regiment – "May 30, H.C.S. *Macqueen*, James Walker, from London 10th February. Passengers: Mrs Streatfield, Major Streatfield, H.M. 87th Regiment.

⁸ Baptismal record Confirmed in W023 – Royal Hospital Chelsea: Admission Books, Registers, and Papers 1702-1876

“May 31, Ship *Bombay Merchant*, D. Ovenston, from Rangoon 18th May. Passengers: Captain Waller, H.M. 87th Regiment, Mr. Scott, late Lieut, H.M. 47th Regiment, J. Dempster, Esq. Assistant Surgeon, 38th Regiment, in charge of the troops and followers.

“May 31, Ship *Lady Blackwood*, J. Russell, from Rangoon 20th May. Passengers: Two hundred and thirty-five Camp Followers.”

This confirmed Captain Edward Waller’s return to Calcutta from Rangoon. However, it is unclear whether Captain Edward Waller was wounded, injured or ill from the tour of duty.

The Death of Capt. Edward Waller

The British India Office Ecclesiastical Returns of Deaths & Burials states “13th August 1826 Edward Waller, 39 years – Capt. H.M. 87th Regt, Fort William Burial Ground, signed H. Parish LLD. This is likely to be the most accurate record of his death, less than eleven weeks after his arrival from Rangoon. As a result of new construction in Fort William in the 1880s, the ‘old’ burial ground is no longer in existence, and some of the headstones were moved and are now mounted on the walls at South Park Cemetery⁹.

Some insight into the conditions endured by the 87th Regiment in Burma is found in The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British India and Its Dependencies covering the period July to December 1826, contained a postscript to Asiatic Intelligence –

“Our letters from Rangoon, by the *Enterprize*, concur in representing, that little difficulty will be found in procuring the second payment of 25 lacs under the treaty of Pagahm Mew, when our troops will be finally withdrawn from the Burmah territory. This, it is expected, will take place about the beginning of July. His Majesty’s 87th regiment will remain until Rangoon is finally evacuated, when they will return to Bengal. We are sorry to learn that Lieut.-Col. Shaw, who commanded the regiment, had fallen victim to the disease, under which he had been suffering for some time: he died, we understand the day before the ship reached Penang.

Mr. Crawford was making preparations when the *Enterprize* sailed for proceeding to Ava, to assume the functions of resident at the court of his golden-footed Majesty. [*Cal. John Bull*, May 24]”

However, The Weekly Dispatch (London) of 12th November, 1826 carried the following death notice for Matthew Shawe–

“On board his Majesty’s ship *Slaney*, on his return from Rangoon to British India, Lieutenant-Colonel Shawe, of the 87th Regiment.”

Similarly, The Limerick Chronicle of 18th November, 1826 carried another version of the death notice–

“On passage from Rangoon to Madras, Lieut.-Colonel M. Shawe, C.B., of his Majesty’s 87th Regiment.”

Most expansive of all, and extracted from The Times (London) December 1st, 1826, was the paragraph in the Weekly Freeman’s Journal (Dublin) on 16th December, 1826.

“THE LATE BRIGADIER-GENERAL SHAWE – PENANG, APRIL 11, 1826.- Yesterday were interred here the remains of the later Brigadier-General Matthew Shawe, of the 87th Regiment, who died on board his Majesty’s ship *Slaney*, off this island, on the 11th ins., on his passage from Rangoon. The whole of the troops off duty received the corpse at its landing, minute guns from the *Slaney*, and a brigade of artillery, firing during the ceremony, which was conducted with all due respect to the rank of the deceased. This gallant officer and worthy man had held the command of the Bengal division of the army under Sir Archibald Campbell in Arva; but his constitution, impaired by a long course of services in India, Spain, and Portugal, and by the effects of severe wounds at Assaye, Fuentes d’Honore, and Badajos, finally sunk under the fatal climate, fatigues and hardships to which he was exposed in the Burmese war. Brigadier-General Shawe has died universally lamented.”

This vividly captures considerable risks to which soldiers in the army of Great Britain were exposed in the early 19th century.

⁹ https://wiki.fibis.org/w/Cemeteries_in_Calcutta

The treaty that concluded the First Anglo-Burmese War (1824–1826) is known as the Treaty of Yandabo, signed on February 24, 1826. While decisive British victories occurred at Pagan (Pagahm Mew) in early 1826, forcing the Burmese to negotiate, the final treaty was signed at Yandabo, a village only 80 km (50 mi) from the capital, Ava. It was signed by General Sir Archibald Campbell (British) and the Governor of Legaing, Maha Min Hla Kyaw Htin (Burmese).

The Burmese were required to pay a massive indemnity of one million pounds sterling (roughly 10 million rupees) in four instalments (25 Lakhs or 2.5 million rupees), which crippled the royal treasury. The war was the longest and most expensive in British Indian history, costing over 5 million pounds and resulting in the deaths of 15,000 British/Indian soldiers and tens of thousands of Burmese.

The Quarterly Oriental Magazine for July to December 1826 reported the demise of Captain Edward Waller –

“Captain Edward Waller, late of His Majesty’s 87th regt of foot, deceased; Mrs Sarah Waller, widow. At Fort William, on the 12th August, Capt. Edward Waller, aged 39 years.”

The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Miscellany for January to June 1827, summarised the impact of the deaths of Matthew Shawe and Edward Waller, with -

“PROMOTION AND CHANGES IN THE BRITISH ARMY (Serving in the East),
87th Foot. Lieut. Col. H. Godwin, from 41st F., to be Lieut.-Col., v. Chambers, who exch. (5 Apr.); Lieut. J. Kennelly to be capt., v. Waller dec. (13 Aug 26)”

The 87th Regiment returned to India arriving in Calcutta in November 1826. Another pointer to the challenging environment of the First Anglo-Burmese War is found in the Historical Record – “the regiment had to regret the death (in Ava) of two old and much valued officers, Captain Peter Benson Husband and Surgeon Alexander Leslie; and of Lieutenant Nicholas Milley Doyle, and Ensign Richard Loveday, two most promising young men, who were drowned in the Irrawaddy,[28] and of above one hundred and eighty non-commissioned officers and soldiers, chiefly from dysentery.”

The Southern Reporter and Cork Commercial Courier 4 January, 1827, carried an extract from the London Gazette –

“WAR-OFFICE, 28th Dec., 1826

MEMORANDA.- His majesty has been pleased to approve of the under mentioned Regiments bearing on their colours and appointments, in addition to any other badges or devices which may have hitherto been granted to those Regiments the word “Ava” in commemoration of their services during the late Burmese war; 1st, 13th, 41st, 44th, 45th, 47th, 54th, 87th, and 89th Regiments of foot, 2d batts.”

The Will of Captain Edward Waller

Edward Waller’s will was signed and sealing in the presence of John Sherlock, Paymaster 87th Foot, J.G. Baylee, Lieut. 87th Foot, and H.G. Baylee, Lieut. 87th Foot. Sarah Waller was granted probate to Edward Waller’s will on 4th September, 1826.

In his will Edward Waller appointed his wife, Sarah Waller as guardian of his children, Robert Waller, Kilner Waller, Isabella Waller and John Gough Waller, and any such child or children as Sarah Waller may be instient of (that is Harriett Sherlock Waller). He left Sarah Waller a substantial income:

- “the whole and every part of my property both real and personal together with my pay and allowances, arrears of pay and allowances, and all prize money that is now due or may hereinafter become due or payable to me.”
- “Five hundred pounds Sterling (£500) in the Bank of Ireland invested in Government Stocks in the month of March, 1815 through the agency of Henry Lanauze Junior, the city of Dublin stock broker for the purpose of being there kept at lawful interest on my account together with the lawful interest on the same, and is bequeathed to Sarah Waller for her use and the use of my children.” This appears to have grown to nine hundred pounds Sterling (£900) by 1826.
- “John James Davis, Gentleman attorney at Law in Dublin, Kilner Waller, Gentleman of the City of Dublin, Robert Waller. Gentleman of the City of Dublin are responsible for seeing the conveyance of the inheritance to Sarah Waller.”

- John James Davis is named in the will of Captain Edward Waller, dated 24th September 1825 as Gentleman attorney at Law in Dublin, responsible for the guardianship of his children should Sarah Waller pass away before the children attained the age of 21 years, along with his brothers Kilner Waller, Gentleman of the City of Dublin, Robert Waller. Gentleman of the City of Dublin, and John Sherlock, Esq., Paymaster 87th Foot.
- “For all and every part of his property in Ireland, executors are: Sarah Waller, Kilner Waller, Gentleman of the City of Dublin, and John Sherlock, Esq., Paymaster 87th Foot.”

Edward Waller’s father’s will from 25th November 1792 left a sum of £2,500 for his youngest children (not defined), a proportion of which sum was to be kept at interest for the purpose of paying his mother Deborah England a yearly sum of fifty pounds Sterling during the term of natural life Deborah England passed on 4th February 1852, resident in Dublin. This £50 per year was also intended to cover his children “Robert Waller, Kilner Waller, Isabella Waller, and John Gough Waller and such child or children as Sarah Waller may be instient.”

Conservatively the sums invested totalled £3,400 in 1826 (the relative income value of that amount in 2025 is £5,427,000). The £50 per year (the relative income value of that amount in 2025 is £79,810) seems more modest as it potentially supported Deborah England, Sarah Waller, Robert Waller, Kilner Waller, Isabella Waller, John Gough Waller and Harriet Sherlock Waller.

In his capacity as the appointed solicitor of the Hon. East India Company Robert Waller Poe was involved in the administration of the will of Captain Edward Waller in Calcutta. Robert Waller Poe, who was born in 1780, was a younger brother of the head of the Tipperary branch of the family of that name, which had been settled in Ireland since the beginning of the eighteenth century. Robert Waller Poe did not sail from Calcutta until August 1830 on the *General Harris*, bound for London, and then appears to have been alone.

Could Robert Waller Poe and his wife Anne, cared for John Gough Waller and Isabella Waller from March 1827 when Sarah Waller left for Portsmouth on the *Asia*?

The paymaster of the 87th regiment in 1825, John Sherlock who is mentioned in the will of Captain Edward Waller, was married to Catherine Pomery Buckingham, sister of Sarah Buckingham, the second wife of Edward Waller. John Sherlock was court-martialled for embezzlement in 1828 and ignominiously “dismissed from his Majesty’s service, with incapacity to serve his Majesty in any office, civil or military; and that he do make good the amount of the sums so proved against him in the several charges.”¹⁰

Return of the 87th Regiment to England

In early February 1827, the head-quarters with nine companies sailed for England from Calcutta in the *Lord Lynedoch*, with the remainder of the 87th Regiment to follow in the *Cornwall*.

It was not until May and June 1827 that the Irish papers began carrying news of the death of Captain Edward Waller in their Military Obituaries. For example, “In India, much lamented, Captain Edward Waller, 87th Regiment, son of the late Kilner Waller, of this city, Esq.”¹¹

“MONTHLY MILITARY OBITUARY
Captains – Waller, 87th foot, Calcutta”¹²

From June 1827 newspapers in England, Ireland and Australia reported the loading and departure of ships from Calcutta bound for England.

The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser edition of Friday 8 June 1827 reported “The ships *Asia*, *Cornwall*, *Lord Lyndoch*, *Susan*, *Symmetry*, *Coromandel*, *Madras*, *Clydesdale*, *Rockingham*, *Victory*, *Colombia*, *Bride*, *Gauges* (*sic*), *Juliana*, *Reaper*, *Perseverance*, and *Rose*, were loading for England, at Calcutta, in February.”

¹⁰ Court-Martial at Chester. Limerick Chronicle - 17 December 1828

¹¹ Deaths. The Limerick Chronicle Wednesday 2 May 1827

¹² Monthly Military Obituary. The Warder (Dublin) Saturday 9 June 1827

The London Evening Standard of 22nd June 1827 reported “The *Lord Lynedock* (sic), Beadle from Bengal has arrived in the Downs; sailed from Do 6 Feb 1827, and St. Helena 30th of April. Passengers per *Lord Lynedock* (sic), from Bengal:- **Lieut. Col Hunter Blair, Major Streatfield, Mrs do., Capt. Hutchison, Capt. Moore, Capt. Kennedy, Lieut. Baylie, Lieut. Irvin, Lieut. Halstead, Adjut. Hassard, Quarter-mast., Mrs Carr, Master do., Surg. Brown, H.M. 87th regiment**, Miss E. Streatfield, Master R. Moorcroft.

The Warder (Dublin) edition of 23rd June 1827 reported “The 87th regiment embarked in January last from Calcutta, and sailed for England in the *Lord Lyndock* (sic) and *Cornwall*; they may be daily expected.”

The *Lord Lyndoch* carried the commanding officer of the 87th Regiment and a number of other senior officers. The London Morning Post of 28 June 1827 reported “The headquarters division of the 87th Regiment of Foot has arrived at Chatham, from India.” Chatham Barracks refers to historical military installations in Chatham, Kent, England, that were associated with the Chatham Dockyard.

The *Lord Lyndoch* was launched in 1814, at Calcutta. In 1827, *Lord Lyndoch* was still listed as being registered at Calcutta. Her master was W.T. Harris, and her owners were still Alexander & Co. However, at some point she was sold to Beadle & Co., of London. The Master is Beadle in the above entry. The ship, a 639 ton vessel, was stiff, flat-floored, and capable of carrying a large cargo.

The London Morning Post of 31st July 1817 reported “The East India Company’s ship *Asia*, arrived off the Wight the 28th instant; she left Bengal the 8th of March, and St. Helena the 9th of June. Passengers.- Mrs Lane Magniac, Mrs Wm. Bignell, **Mrs Waller**, Mrs Liston, Miss Durham, Lane Magniac, Esq., Bengal Civil Service, John Hunter, Esq. ditto, Doctor S. Durham, ditto, Captain E. Garston, Hon. Company’s Engineers, **Captain S. Sherlock, his Majesty’s 87th regiment of foot, Ensign C. Urquhart, ditto**, Alexander Lamb, Esq., Mr W. Turner, Miss E. Magniac, Miss M. Magniac, Master F. Magniac, Miss Balderno, Master F. Balderno, **Miss H. Waller, Master K. Waller, Master R. Waller**, C.T.P. Hunter, two European female servants, two Native female servants, three Native male servants. Charter party passengers from St. Helena:- Mrs Lewis Cohen and his infant son, Stephen Scanlan and wife, his Majesty’s 87th regiment; 47 invalids, Company’s service, two dead, one left at the hospital at St. Helena.”

The ship *Asia* was a merchant ship built by A. Hall & Company at Aberdeen in 1818. She made eight voyages between 1820 and 1836 transporting convicts from Britain to Australia. She made one voyage for the British East India Company between 1826 and 1827.



Asia (East Indiaman)

More detailed information on the ships *Cornwall* and *Asia*, and passengers sailing from Calcutta to England was found in The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Miscellany, Volume 24, covering the period from July to December 1827 –

“Home Intelligence INDIA SHIPPING Passengers from India

Per Cornwall, from Bengal – G. Mackillop, Esq.; Mrs Mackillop; 2 Masters Mackillop; Mrs Blunt; 2 Misses and Masters Blunt; Capt. J Angelo, 3rd L.C.; Mrs Angelo; 2 Miss Angelo; Mrs Laws; 2 Masters Ferris; Lieut. Col. Pepper, 6th N.I.; Lieut. Col. G. Knight; Brev. Capt. Johnson, artillery; Lieut. A. Conolly, 6th L. C.; Miss A. Barclay; **Capt. J. Day, H.M.’s 87th regt.; Lieut. R. Harris, ditto; Ens. R. Dudley, ditto;** 70 invalids; 9 servants.

Per Asia, from Bengal – Mrs L Magniac; Mrs Wm. Bignell; **Mrs. Waller;** Mrs. Liston; Miss Durham; Lane Magniac, Esq., Bengal C.S.; J. Hunter, Esq., ditto, ditto; Dr. S. Durham, Bengal estab.; Capt. E. Garston, H.C.’s Engineers; **Capt. S. Sherlock, H.M.’s 87th Foot; Ens. C. Urquhart, ditto, ditto;** Alex Lamb, Esq.; Mr. W. Turner; **Misses E. Magniac, M. Magniac, Balderno, and H. Waller; Masters F. Magniac, T. Balderno, K. Waller, R. Waller,** and C.T.P. Hunter; servants; charter-party passengers, &c.

Asia, Balderston, from Bengal 8th March; off Portsmouth.”¹³

The sailing of the *Asia* was also confirmed in The Oriental Herald and Journal of General Literature, No. 43, Vol 14 covering the month of July 1827 –

“SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE

GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS

PASSENGERS HOMEWARDS

By the *Asia*, Capt. Balderston, from Bengal:- **Capt. E. Garstin, Engineers, and S. Sherlock, 87th reg.; Ensign C. Urquhart, 87th reg.;** L. Magniac, J. Hunter, and A. Lamb, Esqrs.; Messrs. W. Turner and L. Cohen (and his infant son); Masters Magniac, Balderus, **K. and R. Wallers** (sic), and Hunter; Mesdames Magniac, Bignell, **Waller**, and Liston; Misses Durham (two), Magniac, Balderus, and **Waller;** two European and five Native servants; invalids, &c.”¹⁴

From these records it can be assumed that Mrs Sarah Waller, the second wife of Capt. Edward Waller, their daughter, Harriett Sherlock Waller, and the two eldest children of Capt. Edward Waller and his first wife, Robert Waller and Kilner Waller returned to England on the *Asia*. Harriet Sherlock Waller would have been about 11 months old when the *Asia* departed Calcutta, while Robert Waller would have been about 13 years old, and Kilner Waller nearly 11 years old.

No record has been found of the two younger children of Capt. Edward Waller and his first wife, Isabella Waller and John Gough Waller, who would have been about 9 years old, and 7 years old respectively.

Perhaps the family intended to travel in two groups to mitigate the risk of shipwreck?

Perhaps Mrs Sarah Waller was taking the older boys to attend school in England?

Who cared for Isabella and John Gough Waller if they remained in Fort William?

Upon the 87th Regiment’s return to England there are accounts of some of the officers. The Limerick Chronicle of Saturday, 31st July 1827 reported “Our fellow citizen, Captain Baylee, 87th Regiment arrived at his mother’s, in this city, this week from Bhurtpore. The 87th Regiment is now stationed at Albany barracks, Isle of Wight.” Bhurtpore Barracks is located in Tidworth Garrison, north of Salisbury in Wiltshire.

In the Wednesday 7th October, 1827 edition of The Limerick Chronicle, it was reported “Much anxiety is evinced by monied military men to get into the **87th Irish Fusileers** (sic), and dashing prices are offered for exchanges. The uniform is fixed on, and it will be the most splendid and expensive in the service. The cap is so very handsome that the Grenadier Guards have adopted the same pattern. The 87th will, in a few months, be ordered on the Irish Establishment.

¹³ The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Miscellany, July to December 1827, Volume 24, Page 269 - 1827

¹⁴ The Oriental Herald and Journal of General Literature, July 1827, No. 43, Volume 14, Page 601

Lieutenant Harris, of the **87th Regiment**, was lately tried at Albany Barracks by a general Court Martial, sentence not known, tho' it is generally conceived he will be honourably acquitted. The following Officers of the **87th Regiment** have, in consequence of their return from India, been placed on half pay;- Lieutenant-Colonel Godwin, **Captain Henry Gough Baylee**, Lieutenants Thomas Heyland, Decimus Herbert, Thomas Miller Creagh, Grierson, and T.B. Sheahan, and Assistant-Surgeon W. Wallace, MD."

By October 1827, officers were being placed on half-pay – "The following officers of the 87th regiment have, in consequence of their return from India, been placed on half-pay;- Lieutenant-Colonel Godwin, Captain Henry Gough Baylee, Lieutenants Thomas Heyland, Decimus Herbert, Thomas Miller Creagh, Grierson, and T.B. Shehan, and Assistant-Surgeon W. Wallace, M.D."¹⁵

In November 1827 the 87th Regiment of Foot (or Prince of Wales's Own Irish Fusiliers) became the 87th (or Royal Irish Fusiliers) Regiment of Foot.

What became of Isabella Waller, John Gough Waller and Harriet Sherlock Waller

No records of the two younger children of Capt. Edward Waller and his first wife emerge until 1838. The Bengal Directory and Annual Register 1838¹⁶ published shipping departures from Calcutta for March 1837 – "By **Jellinghee**, for Allahabad:- C.R. Cartwright, esq., Mrs Cartwright, Mrs Wells, Mrs Parks, Miss Dunbar, Captain and Mrs Watson, Miss Watson, Lieutenant Atkinson, and Mrs Jackson. – *To Dinapore* – W.R. Jennings, esq., - *To China*, - C. Udney, esq. and Mrs Udney. - **To Ghazeepore, - Mr. J.G. Waller, and Miss Waller**, - *To Baulea*, - Mr Lushington."

The Calcutta Monthly Journal and General Register of Occurrences throughout The British Dominions in the East¹⁷ covering the period from January to June 1827 published departures of passengers for March 1837 – "**Per Jellinghee, to Allahabad** – C.R. Cartwright, Esq., Mrs Cartwright; Mrs Wells; Mrs Parks; Miss Dunbar; Capt. And Mrs Watson, Miss Watson; Lieutenant Atkinson, and Mr Jackson. *To Dinapore* – W.R. Jennings, Esq. *To Chupra* – C. Udney, Esq and Mrs Udney. **To Ghazeepore – Mr J.G. Waller and Miss Waller.** *To Bauleah* – Mr. Lushington."

The steam-boat *Jellinghee* would have navigated the Ganges River from Calcutta to Dinapore (now Danapur), to Ghazeepore (now Ghazipur), and on to Allahabad - a total distance of about 1,000 miles. The iron steam-boat Jellingee was launched at Calcutta on the 15th April 1835 and was reported to be "the fourth of these boats launched during 12 months, a dispatch that reflects great credit upon the parties concerned in their equipment; her draft of water is about 10 inches".¹⁸

John Gough Waller would have been 17 years old, and his sister, Isabella would have been 19 years old. Their father's 87th regiment had been in Ghazeepore in 1823 and 1824. An opium factory was founded in Ghazeepore in 1820 and continues operations to this day.

Who were they visiting in Ghazeepore?

Did they ever leave India, or were they left behind with friends or relatives (for example, Robert Waller Poe, who from Oct 1818 was Attorney for the Honourable Company) when their step-mother returned to England in 1827 with Robert Waller, Kilner Waller, and Harriet Sherlock Waller?

Or is this their return to India, after being in England or Ireland?

According to the 1841 Census of England and Wales, Isabella Waller was back in England living in Mill Pleasant Street, Stoke Damerel, Devon, with Elizabeth Cummings (a widow, aged 60-64) and Harriett Cummings (aged 25-29), all living by independent means.

¹⁵ The Warder (Dublin) Saturday 20 October 1827

¹⁶ The Bengal Directory and Annual Register 1838, page 531.

¹⁷ Calcutta Monthly Journal and General Register of Occurrences throughout The British Dominions in the East – Jan-Jun 1837, page 34.

¹⁸ Naval & Military Gazette and Weekly Chronicle of the United Service - 3 October 1835 East India and Colonial Chronicle.

Isabella and John Gough Waller's stepmother, Sarah Waller (aged 45 years), according to the 1841 Census of England and Wales, was living at Phoenix Place, East Stonehouse in the city of Devonport along with her daughter Harriet Sherlock Waller (aged 15 years), her niece Catherine Sherlock (aged 15 years). Sarah Waller died 2nd June 1862 at Plymouth, leaving an estate of under £600.

The parish of East Stonehouse was a populous township and parish lying between Devonport and Plymouth.

East Stonehouse is less than 1 mile from Stoke Damerel.

Also living at Phoenix Place, were Janet Ker (widow, independent means, aged 50 years) and her son David Ker (clerk, aged 15 years). The late husband of Janet Ker was Captain David Ker, formerly of the Royal Navy, and at the time of his death in February 1827 (aged 49 years) was a successful import merchant and land-holder in Hobart, Tasmania. Their son David Ker was born in Hobart in 1826. In September 1847 David Ker married Harriet Sherlock Waller at East Stonehouse Chapel.^{19 20}

There was no happy union awaiting Isabella Waller. On 7th May 1846 she was admitted to the Devon County Asylum. She was resident there in the 1851 Census of England and Wales, and died there on 3rd April 1853, aged 35 years.

Notwithstanding the lack of information on John Gough Waller in the years between 1826 and 1838, it is evident that he was well educated, given speeches he made later in life in Australia.

John Gough Waller sailed as an unassisted passenger from the Downs on 5th September 1840 on the barque, *Nelson*, arriving in Sydney, New South Wales, on 16th January 1841, the journey taking 134 days (19 weeks and 1 day). Within two months he joined his brother Kilner in Launceston, Tasmania. By early 1842 he returned to Sydney and established an import/export business. John Gough Waller traded regularly with his brother Kilner.

John Gough Waller married Anne Agar Hansard on 10th September 1842 in Sydney. In 1843 he established J. G. WALLER Wine Merchants and later J.G. Waller & Co Wine & Spirit Merchants. John Gough Waller and Anne Agar Hansard had six children, four of whom lived to adulthood. John Gough Waller had a long life passing in 1903 (aged 83 years), with many extraordinary achievements and some financial difficulties during the recessions of the 1840s, 1860s and 1890s. A strong advocate of free trade, he was active in local politics in Sydney and Launceston, was a successful agent for gold during the rush of the 1850s, invested in other mining ventures in the 1870s, diversified into insurance agencies through the 1870s and 1880s, and found time to sing with the Sydney Philharmonic Society, the Sydney Masonic Musical Union, and the Launceston Musical Union.

What became of Robert Waller and Kilner Waller

Little has been uncovered about Robert Waller after his return to England in July 1827. The 1841 Census of England and Wales has a Robert Waller (aged 25 years) residing at Princes Street, Stoke Damerel with Mary Waller (aged 25 years). The occupation is difficult to read, but could be "shore man". There were lodging houses in Princes Street in the first half of the 19th century. The England and Wales Civil Registration Marriage Index records a Robert Waller marrying a Mary Wood in the first quarter of 1839, in the registration district of East Stonehouse.

More definitive are the Royal Hospital Chelsea Admission Books, Registers and Papers which records the pensions and benefits for the widows and children of officers, surgeons and chaplains of the Bengal Army-

"Entry Name	Date of Birth	Father's Rank	Regiment
10674 – Waller, Robert	26 Feb 1814	Capt.	87 Foot 12

Notes: Specially continued being incapable of earning his own living; Died 16th April 1844"

¹⁹ Exeter and Plymouth Gazette, 11 September 1847.

²⁰ Dublin Evening Mail, 17 September 1847

However, this is not corroborated by the England & Wales Deaths Register 1837-2007, which records the death of a Robert Waller in the 4th quarter of 1844 in the registration district of Plympton St Mary, a north-eastern part of the city of Plymouth.

Little has been uncovered about Kilner Waller after his return to England in July 1827 until 1840. The edition of *The Hobart Town Courier and Van Diemen's Land Gazette* published on Friday 28th August 1840 reported Shipping Intelligence for the Port of Launceston – “Arrivals: August 20—the bark *Cecilia*, 248 tons, Waddell, from London, with merchandize—passengers, T. W. Snell, Esq., Mrs and Miss T. Snell, T. W. Parker, Esq , Mrs. and Miss Grainger, **Messrs. Waller**, Grounds, Jolly, Dixon, Smith, Arnold, and Adams.

The journey from London departing on Saturday 2nd May 1840 and arriving in Launceston on Thursday 20th August 1840 took 110 days (15 weeks and 5 days). Kilner Waller was indentured to an import/export agent, Perkins, Bennett & Co in Launceston, Tasmania. By 1842 he had established his own import/export agency initially titled Waller Brothers & Co, then Waller & Co., which became very successful.

He married Hannah Maria Dowling, a schoolteacher and daughter of the Rev. Henry Dowling on 4th October 1842. They had eight children together.

In October 1853 Kilner Waller sold up in Launceston, and in December 1853 the family sailed for England, destination Liverpool on the *Great Britain* departing from Hobson's Bay, Melbourne, Victoria. The *Great Britain* was an “auxiliary steamship” that was able to generate 500 Horse-power in addition to a traditional three-masted, square-rigged sail pattern.

In England Kilner Waller and family settled initially on the Spring Grove estate at Isleworth (now in the London Borough of Hounslow, West London). They travelled widely, to Colchester in Essex from where his wife's family originated and the 87th Regiment had been stationed during Captain Edward Waller's tenure, to Malvern in Worcestershire to visit the Countess of Huntingdon's Chapel, to Gloucester, and in July 1856 Kilner travelled to Castlewaller in co. Tipperary, Ireland²¹.

By 1856 Kilner had established an office in Bucklersbury, Cheapside as a merchant. His neighbour there was the acting secretary of the Family Colonization Society, Samuel Cogdon.²²

From March 1857 he wrote many letters to newspapers in Essex, London, Launceston, Melbourne and Sydney extolling the virtues of emigration by rural working people to Australia. He was a supporter of The Wellington Emigration Fund, The British Workman's Association and the National Association of the Unemployed. His last letter to the editor of *The Sydney Morning Herald* dated 16th May 1857, was published in Sydney on Monday 13th July 1857. Membership of these initiatives and the many letters suggest that Kilner was well educated.

About five weeks later, tragically the entire family and servants drowned in the wreck of the *Dunbar* just south of the entrance to Sydney Harbour during a storm on the night of 20th August 1857 after an uneventful voyage from England.²³

What became of Sarah Waller

Sarah Waller, widow of Captain Edward Waller resided in Devonport and Plymouth from about 1828 until her death on 2nd June 1862. Her will was proved at Exeter by the oaths of executors William George Haydon of 4 Woodside Plymouth, Actuary in the Plymouth and South Devon Savings Bank, and Francis Pickersgill Cockshott of 21 Clarendon-place, Plymouth, Superintendent of the South Devon Railway Company.

In the 1851 Census of England Sarah Waller was living at 5 Melbourne Street, Plymouth with son-in-law David Ker and his wife Harriet Sherlock Ker (her daughter), and their two children.

²¹ The Limerick Chronicle 30 July 1856.

²² London Post Office Directory 1856

²³ Writer, L. *The Shipwreck*, Allen & Unwin 2022. ISBN 978 1 76087 910 5.

Her son-in-law David Ker, was the superintendent of the Plymouth station of the South Devon Railway in the early 1850s, before becoming Traffic Manager of the Waterford and Kilkenny Railway in Ireland.

In the 1861 Census of England Sarah Waller was living at 8 Bounds Place, Plymouth with son-in-law David Ker and his wife Harriet Sherlock Ker, and their four children. In this record David Ker is a superintendent of works.